754 784 which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

* 621 622 613 [956] Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

622 [502] Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

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[171] [1]To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yanomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yanomamö are "tribal."

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648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

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152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
[753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
[761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
[825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
[756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

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152 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

*621 *157 152 593 Most of the displays of ferocity have to do with cruelties inflicted on women, particularly wives, as this is both a safe and a legitimate way of displaying aggressiveness.

*628 721 562 One of the corollaries of this ideology is to take advantage of weak neighbors, for in so doing one can display ferocity and gain materially (by abducting women). Villages that have many enemies are particularly good targets, for other villages can participate in the raiding against these disadvantaged villages with little fear of retaliation (see Chapter V). This attitude is also manifest in the political dealings with allies. Whenever allied villages differ markedly in size and strength, the weaker of the two is at a disadvantage, for the larger village will coerce it out of women. Since women are greatly prized, there is the constant threat that an ally will turn against its friends if the circumstances indicate that a substantial number of women can be abducted. Members of allied villages that have recently entered into alliance never really trust each other, as each fears that the other may turn on it to seize women. Whenever the men of the village go on raids, they conceal their women and children in the jungle in case a group of men from an allied village unexpectedly visit and find the poorly guarded women too much of a temptation to pass by.

*629 Political dealings between allies are such that each attempts to demonstrate to the other that it is completely sovereign and capable of defending itself. No group can afford to permit the notion among allies that it is weak and

000 never took place.

*621 *623 a 156 152 One of the functions served by the levels of violence in Yąnomamö fighting is that the Yąnomamö are able to exhibit their ferocity in relatively benign forms and thereby live up to their claims of fierceness. But, since any form of violence can escalate to a more serious form of fighting, the system of violence itself constitutes a strain on the solidarity of relationships between and within villages.

*628 527 574 578 152 156 One peculair feature of this syndrome of fierceness is that smaller villages tend to be the most aggressive in their dealings with outsiders and with allies. The reason seems to be that smaller villages are more compelled to display their tenacity, as they are more obviously the weaker members in alliances. The expression of violence by members of allied villages, ironically enough, takes place during feasts. Thus, grievances that may have developed between members of allied villages since they last feasted together are satisfied during the course of the next feast. Thus, during the situations most likely to promote solidarity, allies frequently display their capacity to fight, informing their allies that they are sovereign, friendly, but fierce. The form of violence associated with feasting is usually chest pounding, but if someone is injured, the duel may escalate to side-slapping with the flat side of a machete. It smacks of the ridiculous to witness groups of men beating each other violently in such duels, and shortly thereafter embrace each other around the neck and chant, each man

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bëkëbowë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

726 Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid
*628 from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to
622 advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated
[564] several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support
of Kɨobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi.
[602] As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman
(consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen
as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

• 156 Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after
622 the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he
[123] was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again,
[593] he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one
occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she
responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was
entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the
visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a
*621 force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field,
622 Paruriwë and his group separated from Kɨobëwë's and moved
361 across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house
529 on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This
574 move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could
initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up
until the time he moved, visitors from other villages con-
sistently sought out Kɨobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during
the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how
much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the
feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ19

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kaobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kaobawä's oldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kaobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kaobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-6. Kaemashima, Kaobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a paw frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers [622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village, [156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karobi-teri, one of the [582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation- [622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He [591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an [837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked [593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother [578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good [522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

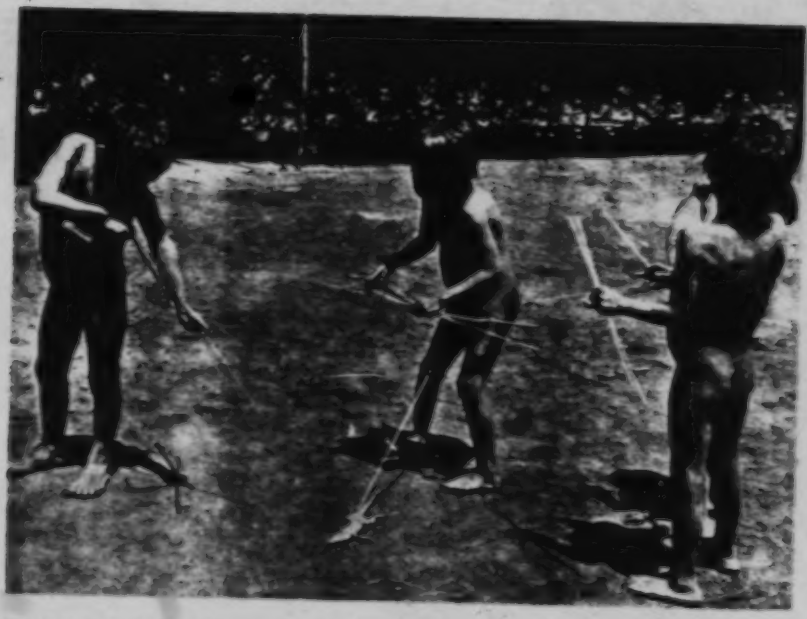

Fig. 3-8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kaobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yanomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kaobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kaobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kaobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kaobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kaobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kaobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kaobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

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On another occasion a group of men from Patanowã-teri arrived to explore with Kąobuwã the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobuwã's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwã, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobuwã's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobuwã let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwã and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobuwã and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwã and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobuwã nor the Patanowã-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwã approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwã's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilities.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobuwã's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwã's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowã-teri. When Paruriwã failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobuwã realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowã-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowã-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowã-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasubõwã-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowã-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobuwã not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobuwã keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwã, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwã when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobuwã was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon S-5 (1966-1968) 1966 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Panaiwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Panaiwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Panaiwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Panaiwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kaobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Panaiwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kaobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kaobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kaobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kaobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 5-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 5-9. Kaobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been hacked on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwë probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kaobawë-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowë. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwë's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwë failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwë and his raiders did not locate the Patanowë-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowë-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowë-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowë-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowë-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowë-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

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